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LET US DEFEND INDEPENDENCY

PYONGYANG, August 12 (KCNA)—Rodong Shinmoon today prints a lengthy article under the title, "Let Us Defend Independency."

The article is sub-titled: "One should do one's own thinking," "One should have confidence in one's own strength," "Marxism-Leninism is a guide to action," "One should not mechanically follow other's experience," "One should have national pride," "Independent national economy is the material basis of independency," "One should respect other's independency" and "Let us uphold independency and strengthen the joint struggle against imperialism."

The full text of the article reads:

The struggle for the establishment of *Juche** opposing dogmatism, occupies an important place in the history of our Party.

Owing to specific features of development of our history, our country was affected by flunkeyism in the past. Following the liberation, the revolutionary work was participated in by people who came from different places and the composition of the Party ranks, too, was complicated. And some people lacked Marxist-Leninist culture and were inexperienced in revolutionary struggle.

Under such circumstances our Party was open to the influence of dogmatism to a certain extent.

This was a serious handicap in expediting revolution and construction. Hence, our Party tirelessly carried on educational work among the Party members and working people for surmounting dogmatism and establishing *Juche*.

However, the factionalists continued to obstruct the implementation of the correct Party policy. In the post-war period the harmful effect of dogmatism was all the more strikingly evidenced. With the progress of socialist revolution and socialist construction, this became no longer bearable.

In 1955 our Party launched a party-wide struggle for establishing *Juche* opposing dogmatism, in all fields.

This ran up against bitter resistance on the part of the factionalists. In 1956 they launched a frontal attack against the independent lines of the Party. Neither revolution nor construction could make further headway without frustrating the anti-Party activities of the factional elements.

Factionalists of our country were, without exception, revisionists and dogmatists. They were also flunkeys and national nihilists. Thus the struggle against factionalism was linked with the struggle against modern revisionism, dogmatism, flunkeyism and national nihilism.

Our Party firmly repelled the factionalists' advance against the Party.

As a result, the Party has been consolidated organizationally and ideologically, and the Party members have been firmly armed with the ideas of *Juche*. The independent lines of the Party have been carried through in all work. The establishment of *Juche* brought about a new, ideological emancipation within the Party. It became a great material force in socialist construction.

In international relations, too, our Party's activities have been independent. We have waged the struggle against modern revisionism also from an independent stand, in accordance with our own judgement. The more complicated the situation became, the faster we held to the independent position of our own.

Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sustenance in economy and self-defence in national defence —this has been the invariable line of our Party.

Facts prove that all the lines pursued by our Party have been entirely correct. The victory we won in revolution and construction is, above all, the fruition of the independent policy of our Party.

* By *Juche* we mean abiding by the principle of solving all problems of the revolution and construction independently in accordance with the actual conditions of one's own country and primarily by one's own efforts. This implies creative application of the general truth of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the international revolutionary movement in keeping with the historic conditions and national peculiarities of one's own country. It also signifies independent solution of one's problems in the revolutionary struggle and construction by displaying the spirit of self-reliance……Ed.

1. One Should Do One's Own Thinking

Revolution and construction are arduous, complex and creative work. The work of overthrowing the old society and building a new one meets with desperate resistance of all the old forces and undergoes many a difficulty. In this course, new, complicated problems which no one faced before, crop up one after the other.

There is no ready-made recipe for all these cases. In guiding revolution and construction the communists must be prudent and do a lot of brainwork for themselves. Only by so doing can they solve all questions independently.

As regards the actual situation in each country, the party of that country knows well; no one else is in a position to know better. And the party of each country is responsible for the revolution and construction of that country.

Therefore, the communists must provide clear-cut answers to questions arising in the course of revolution and construction of their country. Only then can they correctly lead the revolution and construction.

All communists can read Marxist-Leninist literature by themselves and get the meaning. And they can find out the correct ways and means by themselves for the carrying out of the revolution, using Marxism-Leninism as the criterion. There is no special master of Marxism-Leninism.

It is important to use one's own brains for the correct handling of all problems in revolution and construction.

In this connection Lenin pointed out: **"It would be absurd to formulate a recipe or general rule to serve all cases. One must use one's own brains and be able to find one's bearings in each separate case."**

To use one's own brains means to observe and judge things and phenomena with one's own mind and act independently.

The communists cannot live, ideologically shackled to anyone. Ideologically shackled to others, one cannot do his own thinking and act independently. Therefore, the communists must, in the first place, be free ideologically. And one must live with an independent spirit, and possess the unshakable ideas of *Juche*. The communists should not dance to the tune of others.

If the communists do not use their own brains, they will forfeit independency. Thus, they will blindly follow others without their own viewpoints or convictions. They will parrot what others say and act as others do. Accordingly, no creativeness will be displayed.

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DPRK Foreign Ministry Statement

Flays U.S. Acts of Aggression Against Cambodia

The Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Aug. 9 issued a statement, sternly denouncing the acts of aggression and provocation by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys against Cambodia, and strongly demanding their immediate suspension, according to a Korean Central News Agency report from Pyongyang.

The statement reads in part:

Of late, U.S. imperialism and the puppets of South Vietnam are frequently intruding into the territorial air of Cambodia and barbarously bombing her peaceful residential areas.

On July 31 and Aug. 2, they air-raided many times the Thloch Trach village, causing heavy casualties and destroying houses.

The bombing on Aug. 2 was conducted when members of the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Cambodia, foreign reporters and military and press attaches in Cambodia were engaged in on-site investigation in this village.

Such barbarous bombing raids on Cambodia are a provocative act once again showing the brigandish nature of U.S. imperialism and are a grave infringement upon the territorial integrity, national dignity and sovereignty of Cambodia and a flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

And it is a downright provocation menacing peace and security of Indo-China and Asia as a whole.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entire Korean people resolutely condemn with surging indignation the criminal aggressive machinations of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys against the Cambodian people and fully support the just stand of the Royal Government of Cambodia manifested in its Aug. 3 statement.

The U.S. imperialists and their stooges have perpetrated ceaseless interventions, provocations and aggressive manoeuvrings in an attempt to undermine the peace, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia.

Last month alone, U.S. imperialism and the puppets of South Vietnam intruded into Kampot and Kandal provinces many times, murdered many inhabitants and destroyed villages.

The U.S. imperialists are also committing such criminal acts as instigating Thai troops to intrude into the Cambodian border.

The systematic aggressive machinations of the U.S. imperialists against Cambodia show that they are trying to recover from their miserable defeat in South Vietnam and extend the flames of war to Cambodia and the whole of Indo-China.

This reckless aggressive move of the U.S. imperialists is coming across the unanimous denunciation by the peace-loving people the world over.

The Korean people condemn all the aggressive and provocative machinations of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys against Cambodia and strongly demand their immediate stop.

The struggle of the Cambodian people against the U.S. imperialist aggression is a just struggle for defending the independence of the country and the honour of the nation and safeguarding peace and security in Asia, and it is invincible.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people express militant solidarity with the Royal Government and people of Cambodia in their righteous struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and will extend active support to their just cause in the future, too.

CLOSED SHELF

(Continued from page 1)

A party devoid of independency cannot have principledness and consistency in its lines and policies. Such party does things in one way today and another tomorrow and constantly shifts from one tendency to another. One who is bent by every wind that blows can by no means evolve a correct line and policy.

When one loses the faculty of thinking and judging for himself, he cannot distinguish right from wrong. Such people commit revisionism. if others commit revisionism, and if others commit dogmatism, they also commit dogmatism. It cannot be otherwise.

Comrade Kim Il Sung stated on this score:

"If one fails to establish *Juche* in the ideological and political spheres, he will be unable to display any initiative because his faculty of independent thinking is paralyzed, and in the end he will even become unable to tell right from wrong and will blindly follow others. One who has lost independence and individuality in this way may fall into revisionism, dogmatism and every description of right and left opportunism and may eventually bring the revolution and construction work to naught."

And it will be none other than the party and revolution of that country that will sustain the resultant losses. And this will do harm to the development of the world communist movement as well.

The history of world communist movement records no small experience of heavy losses sustained in revolution because of failure on the part of some communists to act at their own discretion.

It is, of course, not easy to deal independently with new and complicated questions arising in revolution and construction. But it cannot be avoided. There is no easy way of achieving revolution.

Flunkeyism is an obstacle to carrying out revolution and construction with an independent spirit. Flunkeyism is a slavish, submissive idea worshipping big powers. It ushers in big-power-ism and generates dogmatism.

Once, it posed as a question of particular importance in our country to oppose flunkeyism.

It has a long historical root in our country. The successive feudal rulers of the country served and worshipped big powers. They fawned upon and cringed before big powers and tried to hold the reigns with the latters' support. And for a long time, our country was a colony of Japanese imperialism. It is small and was, at one time, in a backward state compared with its neighbours.

This contaminated some people in the country with flunkeyism.

Needless to say, the socio-class conditions for flunkeyism were eradicated in our country after liberation. But, the ideological survivals of flunkeyism remained. There were times when the flunkeys did no small harm to the revolutionary cause. Instead of doing their own thinking, they, first of all, read the faces of others and waited for what the latter had to say. Thus they echoed what others said and blindly followed others. They unconditionally worshipped anything belonging to big powers and were preoccupied with imitating others in everything.

Such attitude diametrically contradicts the spirit of independence of the communists.

The communists work for revolution not on others' order or to ingratiate themselves with others. They are engaged in revolution with a firm faith in Marxism-Leninism.

How can one who has chosen the road of revolution of his own accord blindly follow others, without a viewpoint of his own? No *Juche* could be established in ideology, nor revolution and construction be carried out independently unless flunkeyism was uprooted.

Our Party waged a struggle for overcoming dogmatism and flunkeyism and establishing *Juche* in ideology. Through this struggle, an independent stand of doing one's own thinking and acting on one's own has been established in all spheres within the Party.

Thus, our Party has been able to advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism, not bending before the wind that blew, and it has been able to vigorously carry out its work with an unshakable viewpoint of its own.

The successes made by our people in revolution and construction are linked, first of all, with the independent line of our Part . Today's successes would have been impossible, if our Party had not upheld the stand of solving all questions at its own discretion and independently.

Our experience shows that a party which leads revolution and construction can successfully fulfil revolutionary tasks confronting it only when it independently and correctly deals with all questions in accordance with its own judgement and its own views.

The communists should use their own brains at all times and act independently with the spirit of *Juche*.

2. One Should Have Confidence in One's Own Strength

The master of revolution in each country is its party and people. Therefore, the communists should take the stand of the master and have confidence, above all, in their own strength in carrying out revolution and building a new society.

One cannot carry out revolution or construction by relying on others; others cannot carry out revolution and construction in one's stead. Revolution can neither be exported nor imported.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that internal forces of each country are the decisive factor of the victory of revolution. The success or failure of revolution depends, in the first place, on the conscious and organized activities of the party and people of the country.

Needless to say, revolution of each country is carried out in conjunction with the world revolution and is influenced by international factors. The impact of international factors must not be underestimated. The communists of all countries should make maximum use, to their advantage, of the support of the world working class.

But, what is basic here are internal factors. Important as outside support is, it plays only a supplementary role.

This is eloquently demonstrated today by the victory of the Vietnamese people in their anti-U.S. war for national salvation. Today the Vietnamese people are receiving assistance from all the socialist countries and peace-loving people of the world. This, of course, is helpful and inspiring to the Vietnamese people.

But the main factor in the great victory won by the North and South Vietnamese people today in the just war against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, lies not in the aid from outside but in their own indomitable revolutionary spirit and heroic struggle. However big the outside support may be, victory cannot be expected in revolution when the sub-

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On Occasion of 21st Anniv. of August 15 Liberation

EDITORIAL

Twenty one years have elapsed since the Korean people were liberated from the yoke of the ruthless colonial rule of Japanese imperialism.

During this period, under the wise leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and Marshal Kim Il Sung, the Korean people defended with credit their revolutionary gains, beating back enemies at home and brought about national prosperity and development unprecedented in their history, tiding over storms and following thorny paths.

As the socialist transformation of the relations of production was carried out, the sources of exploitation and poverty were done away with once and for good and on Korean soil was set up an advanced socialist system where everyone works with hope in the interests of country and his own and is leading a happy life.

Carrying through the line of building an independent national economy put forward by the Korean Workers' Party, the Korean people have turned their country into a powerful socialist industrial-agricultural state.

Heavy industry with the machine-making industry as its core produces machines necessary to build power stations, chemical factories and metallurgical factories, and light industry supplies on its own the people with all kinds of daily necessities.

Our industry developed on an average at a high growth rate of 34.8 per cent for ten years after the War and as of 1965, the gross industrial product increased 15 times as compared with the pre-Liberation.

Thanks to the powerful support of industry, the material and technical founda tion of the socialist rural economy of North Korea had been firmly laid. Our countryside is covered with irrigation networks; mechanization and chemicalization are being carried out there and a bumper crop is garnered every year.

The total product of grains in North Korea has doubled as against the pre-Liberation figure and the food problem already been solved.

In the domains of science and culture a great headway was made.

Thus, the Korean people have set up in the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea an unbreakable base for the Korean revolution and laid a firm foundation for the unification of Korea.

As the time passes, the socialist construction of the daily prospering and developing DPRK and the happy life of the people exert a revolutionary influence more and more on the South Korean people and strongly encourage them in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges.

In sharp contrast to the northern half of the Republic, South Korea has followed a road to ruins and decline, misfortunes and hardships for 21 years since the Liberation.

Owing to the colonial and militarization policies of U.S. imperialism and because of the treacherous policies of the successive puppets, the South Korean economy has totally gone bankrupt and the living difficulties of the people have reached their apex.

The industry has gone bankrupt; the rural economy is completely ruined and the voices of the people suffering from penury and starvation are becoming higher and higher.

It is entirely due to the division of Korea by U.S. imperialism.

The division of Korea and the split of the nation impose undescribable calamities and tribulations upon the Korean people.

Despite the unanimous demand of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world, the U.S. imperialists have been opposing by hook or by crook the unification of Korea and have left no stones unturned to perpetuate the division of Korea.

Not content with this, the U.S. imperialists are of late trying to bring the so-called "Korean question" before the 21st session of the U.N. General Assembly, for the purpose of justifying the occupation of South Korea

Through their bitter experience in the past 21 years, the South Korean people clearly realize that unless they drive U.S. imperialism out of South Korea and sweep away their followers, they are unable to save themselves from the dire predicament.

Therefore, the South Korean people, in defiance of the unprecedented fascist-terror rule, are waging struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and coming out in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle to oppose the scheme of the U.S. and the Pak Jung Hi clique to dispatch South Korean troops to South Vietnam, hold in check the reinvasion of the Japanese militarists and accomplish the unification of Korea.

No force on earth can in any way hold in check the burning desire of the 30 million Korean people to accomplish independent unification of the conutry by driving out foreign aggressors.

U.S. imperialism is not only the sworn enemy of the Korean people, but also the truculent foe of the peoples of the world.

The U.S. imperialists, the ringleader of world reaction, are intent on the machinations of aggression and war provocation throughout the world. Moreover, in a desperate attempt to extricate themselves from the pretty fix they are in, they are running hog-wild to escalate the war of aggression in Vietnam, resorting to all sorts of criminal means of war.

However, this is nothing but a deathbed struggle of those who are doomed like the sun setting in behind the hills.

We Korean people will more strongly launch struggles to force U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the world's people, to pull out of South Korea, topple down the Pak Jung Hi clique and attain the cause of independen unification of Korea.

On this occasion we strongly demand once again that the U.S. imperialists immediately withdraw from South Korea, taking all lethal weapons with them.

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jective force of the country is not prepared.

The communist and workers' parties should, first of all, solidly build up the revolutionary forces of their countries and firmly rely on the strength of their own peoples. The popular masses are the source of inexhaustible might. What is important is to rouse the people and correctly organize and mobilize their strength.

No creativeness or enthusiasm can be displayed, and no ultimate victory of revolution be expected when we lack confidence in the strength of our people. In the long run, we will lose confidence in the correctness and victory of our cause, too. If the communists only sit and wait for aid from outside, not preparing their own revolutionary force, there will be no revolution, nor will the gains of the revolution be defended. This is an attempt to carry out the revolution and construction by relying on others and with others' efforts.

Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out:

"Both in the revolutionary struggle and in construction work, primary importance should be given to self-reliance, support and encouragement from outside should come next. Only when one struggles in this spirit, can one expedite the revolution and construction of one's own country to the greatest possible degree and also contribute to the development of the international revolutionary movement."

In revolution and construction, one should give first place to his own strength and second place to aid from outside. This stands to reason in the light of the principle that the master of the revolution is the party and people of the country in question.

To put main emphasis on one's own efforts does not mean to reject the support and aid of other countries. International support and aid are of weighty importance and of great help in the revolution and construction in each country. But the advance of revolution is impossible if one does not make efforts himself, counting on such support and aid only. Even when aid is given to a country, it can be turned to good account only if the master of that country acts wisely. The effect of outside aid depends to a large measure upon those who receive the aid. No matter how good the aid may be, it cannot be of much help if the recipient of the aid does not manage it well. The idea of mainly relying on one's own efforts is for lightening others' burden and fulfilling his own revolution well. This is the way to repay others' aid with sincerity and is the stand of true communists.

Self-reliance is a manifestation of the independent spirit of the communists to carry out the revolution in their country on their own responsibility.

Only when the communists adopt such an attitude can they break through any difficulty or obstacle they encounter on the road of revolution.

Revolution and construction are not always a smooth sailing. There may be advance and retreat, victory and failure. Unexpected obstacles crop up and sacrifice is made in the course of revolution and construction.

One cannot withstand the arduous trials of revolution but will waver and recoil in face of slight difficulty, if he does not take the stand of relying on his own strength in all work.

Given the spirit of self-reliance, one can display courage and patience in struggle in any adversity. Thus he can tide over difficulties and convert an adverse situation into a favourable one.

Our Party has consistently upheld the principle of relying mainly on our own efforts from the first days of guiding the revolution. We always educate the Party Membership and people in the spirit of self-reliance.

Even in the most trying da s of post-war rehabilitation and construction, our Party mainly relied on its own strength, rejecting dependence upon others. We drove the first spade of post-war rehabilitation and construction in debris, in the literal sense of the word. Everything was short; going was rough for us in every respect.

Some people vacillated at that time. Especially, the sectarian elements considered that our people would not be able to carry out rehabilitation and construction by their own efforts. They had no confidence in our strength and wanted to solve everything with others' aid.

Such stand met the resolute rebuff of our Party. We started work with the deep conviction that we could overcome any difficulty and rehabilitate and reconstruct the devastated econom if we depended upon the inexhaustible strength of the people.

Of course, we received economic and technical aid from fraternal countries. It was a big help for us. But, even then, we did not think that we could build socialism with others' aid only.

We mainly relied upon the inexhaustible creative power of the people and domestic resources. And we adopted the line of making effective use of the aid of the fraternal countries in such a way as to strengthen our independence.

Our people rose up, upholding the line of the Party. They completed post-war rehabilitation and construction in a brief span of time, tightening their belts and counting every penny.

As the revolution and construction progressed, we further armed the masses with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and inspired their labour struggle. The masses united around the Party and pulled through all hardships and obstacles.

In this course, the big upsurge of socialist construction was effected in our country and the great *Chullima* movement unfolded. Quantities of latent reserves were mobilized and miracles were wrought everywhere, and the economic situation of the country began to improve. We came to firmly stand on our own feet and overcome any trial.

The experience of our Party shows that one can cope with any difficulty and solve any knotty problem if he places confidence in the strength of his people and correctly organizes and mobilizes it.

It has bearings on helping other people for each party to successfully carry out revolution in its country, relying on its own efforts. Our own revolutionary force must be solid, first of all, if we are to assist other peoples in revolution and construction.

Only when our subjective revolutionary force is strong, can we exert a good influence on the struggle of other peoples and render assistance to them.

It is the internationalist duty of the communists to assist the revolutionary peoples. In particular, countries which carried out revolution earlier as well as developed countries should give every assistance to the peoples who are waging revolutionary struggles under hard conditions and to the peoples of economically backward countries. The communists must, under no circumstances, fall prey to the idea of living well alone, paying no heed to others. The communists should not seek their personal comfort and pleasure only or forget their class brothers. It is tantamount to giving up the revolutionary struggle half way to forget the world revolution, lapsing into complacency with the success of the revolution in their country.

The communists should fulfil the revolution of their country with a sense of responsibility, relying on the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, and ensure the victory of the common cause by uniting with the international revolutionary forces.

3. Marxism-Leninism Is A Guide to Action

The communists should always take Marxism-Leninism as the compass of their action.

Marxism-Leninism is the generalization of the historical experiences of the international working class movement. It outlines the universal laws that must be upheld in revolution and construction of all countries.

Marxism-Leninism is the pinnacle of all the advanced ideologies of mankind. It is the guiding ideology of the world revolution, the lighthouse illumining the road of revolution in all countries and an all-conquering weapon.

The communist and workers' parties can play the vanguard role in revolution only when they are guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory. Or else, the revolution will be led astray and end up in failure.

We should not approach Marxism-Leninism from a subjective point of view. This or that proposition of Marxism-Leninism should not be construed willfully in one's own favor, for i would mean distortion and vulgarization of Marxism-Leninism.

This was precisely what the factional elements in our country did before. For their factional purposes they interpreted Marxist-Leninist propositions in their own way and distorted their essence. And they tried to apply them mechanically, in disregard of the reality of the country.

Yet, they behaved as though they were the only ones versed in Marxism-Leninism. They acted as if they had the sole right to interpret and develop Marxism-Leninism. These people considered everything they did was right and all that others did was wrong and amounted to nothing.

But actually, they knew nothing. They recited by rote a few Marxist-Leninit propositions as a dogma, but did not know their essence. They were no more than Marxists-Leninists for appearance's sake.

Referring to such people, Stalin wrote:

"The uncritical readers and Talmudists regard Marxism and the separate conclusions and formulas of Marxism as a collection of dogmas which never change despite the change of conditions of social development. They think that if they learn by heart these conclusions and formulas and start to quote them at random, they will be able to solve any questions, calculating that the learned conclusions and formulas are useful to them at all times, in all countries and for all cases in life.

But thus can think only such persons, who see the letter of Marxism, but not see its essence, learn the texts of the conclusions and formulas of Marxism, but not understand their content."

We should understand the essence of Marxism-Leninism, grasp its revolutionary kernel and know how to apply it creatively to revolutionary practice.

For this, it is important to approach every proposition of Marxism-Leninism from a historical point of view and in a concrete way. The theoretical propositions of Marxism-Leninism are linked with the then revolutionary struggle. We should know under what concrete conditions and under what circumstances of class struggle they were presented out and should grasp their basic ideas. Only by so doing can we give correct answers to questions arising in reality.

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a guide to action. It is tested, replenished and enriched through practice.

The universal principles of Marxism-Leninism alone are not enough for giving correct guidance to revolution and socialist construction. Marxism-Leninism sets forth only general and basic propositions on questions arising in the development of revolution. It cannot provide concrete answers to all questions arising in the revolution of each country.

Society constantly changes and develops. So, reality is alway more resourceful, more complicated and more concrete than theory.

The propositions of Marxism-Leninism should be linked up with the vivid reality of each country. Only then can the masses be correctly mobilized in the revolutionary struggle and construction work.

We must never lose sight of the national and historical peculiarities of our country in evolving and implementing our line and policy. All countries find themselves in different conditions and circumstances, and accordingly, ways and means of carrying out the revolution and construction cannot be the same.

The unity of tactics in the international communist movement does, by no means rule out national multiformity. It requires the correct application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in conformity with the national and state differences. The creative application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of each country constitutes the basic guarantee for victory in revolution and socialist construction.

In all questions of revolution and construction the party of each country should find forms and methods which suit best the conditions of its country. That which conforms to the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism and concrete conditions of one's country should be applied, regardless of the existing formula.

The communist and workers' parties should evolve their own theory for guiding revolution and construction in their countries by applying Marxism-Leninism creatively to the concrete conditions of their countries.

Correct strategy and tactics come from a correct guiding theory. The revolution of a country can not be guided by the guiding theory of another party.

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Our Party has formulated its own guiding theory by creatively applying Marxism Leninism to the practice of the Korean revolution It is concretized in the lines and policies of our Party The lines and policies of our Party are living Marxism-Leninism embodied in the reality of Korea.

But the guiding theory of each party is of importance only within the bounds of that country No matter how good the guiding theory of the party of a certain country may be, it cannot be applied to all parties because requirements and situations of revolution differ in all countries.

In applying Marxism Leninism we should not slide into any deviations.

One should not ignore the general principles of Marxism-Leninism while emphasizing the peculiarities of the respective country onl. Then he will inevitably commit right opportunist errors.

The revisionists in history have distorted and modified the universal principles of Marxism Leninism under the pretexts of "change of situation" and "creative development."

As historical examples show, if one gets bogged down in the mire of revisionism, he emasculates the revolutionar, kernel of Marxism-Leninism and denies its universal truth. Thus, he negates the class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat, preaches class cooperation and insists on the reform of the old system instead of its revolutionary overthrow.

The revisionists try to turn away the working class from the revolutionary road creating an illusion about class enemies and beautifying them For temporary and partial interests, they abandon the fundamental interests of the working class.

The example of Yugoslavia clearly shows where the departure from Marxism Leninism leads.

Along with this, we should guard against another deviation. It is also wrong to ignore the changed situation and concrete, specific conditions of a country, over-emphasizing the general principles of Marxism-Leninism.

If one applies the general principles of Marxism Leninism meachanically not heeding the time and conditions, it will give rise to a dogmatic tendency. Then Marxism-Leninism will become lifeless, become a dead dogma. And the party will be divorced from the masses and reality. Such a stand causes a great loss to revolution and construction

We should fight against all the erroneous deviations from Marxism-Leninism and defend its purity.

The communists can successfully lead revolution and construction only by strictly observing the principles of Marxism-Leninism and creatively applying them to the concrete conditions of their own countries.

4. One Should Not Mechanically Follow Others' Experience

The communist and workers' parties are gaining multifarious experiences in the course of revolution and construction. This comes from the different situations and specific features of each country. The more peoples and countries enter the road of revolution and socialist construction, the more diverse and valuable experiences will be created.

It is not big parties or parties with a long history of revolution alone that garner fine experience. A small party or a young party, too, can create experience beneficial to the international communist movement if it holds fast to independency on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Positive experiences of all parties enrich the treasure-house of the international communist movement and contribute to further developing Marxism-Leninism. They are a valuable asset in the struggle for the cause of the working class.

Such experiences help each party achieve victory more easily and more rapidly in revolution and construction.

The communists should respect the experiences of all fraternal parties. Not only the experiences of a certain particular party but of all fraternal parties are valuable to the communists.

In the world communist movement the experience of not just one party can serve as an example of universal significance.

Experience should be tested in practice, no matter what party's experience it is. If the experience of a certain party is valid theoretically and advantageous practically, it will get due appraisal. The communists should respect and draw on all experiences, if they are advantageous to the development of the international communist movement, whether they belong to a big party or a small party. However, whether to introduce or not the experience of any fraternal party is a question that should be judged and decided by respective parties according to their own situations and needs. No one should interfere in this. To study the experience of fraternal parties in no way means mechanically following it.

The communists learn from the experience of fraternal parties in order to make it serve the revolution of their own country.

Therefore, we should not swallow the experience of fraternal parties undigested. If it is swallowed whole, it will not be useful but harmful to revolution and construction, however good it may be. Regarding the experience worth following as an example, too, we should degest it to suit our own actual situation and peculiarities and benefit our revolution.

There can be no experience that mechanically applies to all countries. Each party functions under different conditions. Therefore, an experience suitable and beneficial to one country may be unsuitable to another country.

Experience of one sort or another is created in the course of concrete, revolutionary practice in each country. It is clear, therefore, that experience of one country cannot be copied by another country with different conditions.

Comrade Kim Il Sung stressed as follows:

"In the future, too, we should continue to study and learn from the experience of fraternal parties. But we will be unable to avoid dogmatist error if we do not study and take into consideration at all times the stage of historical development of the given country and the concrete social and class relations, in which the experience was gained, and the specific conditions of our country where it will be applied."

In applying the experience of fraternal parties, it is important, first of all, to correctly discern what is positive and what is negative in the experience.

If one is not firm in his independent stand, he will entertain illusion about another's experience and worship it blindly. And he will not at all be able to discern which is right and which is worth learning from and which is not.

To take a critical attitude toward the experience of a fraternal party and assimilate it in conformity with one's own actual conditions, in no way means that he does not respect the experience or does not support that party This is altogether a different matter. The relations of internationalist friendship between the fraternal parties permit no blind obedience of one to another.

Our Party has always maintained, and is maintaining, an independent stand in applying the experience of fraternal parties, too. Our Party respects valuable experience of fraternal parties and learns from it, but is always critical of it. Thus our Party introduced what was helpful to the revolution and construction in our country and did not apply what was not. Once some dogmatists and flunkeys who wormed themselves into our Party fiercely attacked the independent stand of our Party on the experience of fraternal parties.

They criticized the independent stand of our Party as a "heretical" approach to the line and policy of fraternal parties. They held that in its internal and external activities our Pary should mechanically follow the lines and policies of other parties.

The dogmatists and flunkeys completely divorced themselves from the Marxist-Leninist principles and ignored reality and specific conditions of our country.

They did not base their work on the line and policy of our Party but blindly followed the policy of some other party, entertaining illusion about it.

Whenever our Party put forth a new policy, these people would check first if it tallied with the party policy of some other country. They insisted that we should model after foreign countries in socialist construction as well.

The, took issue with the economic construction line of our Party on giving priority to the development of heavy industry while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture. They argued how we could dare do a thing which is not even mentioned in any of the Marxist-Leninist literature and which no other country has ever done before.

The dogmatists negated the historical necessity of agricultural cooperation, asserting that it was premature to put forth the policy of agricultural cooperation when we could not produce modern farm machines. When the agricultural cooperation movement was unleashed on an extensive scale, again they protested that the tempo of the cooperation was too fast.

Asking why we should transform capitalist trade and industry, instead of utilizing them as in some other countries, they challenged the policy of the Party.

The dogmatists also opposed our Party's policy on intellectuals. They criticized our Party's policy of educating and remoulding old intellectuals as "leading the Party toward the right." They argued that the old intellectuals must be purged since they are "capitalist elements."

It is true that most of the old intellectuals are of propertied class origin and served the exploiting class in the past. But they experienced foreign imperialists' oppression and national discrimination. Therefore, they possess a certain degree of revolutionary character.

The dogmatists saw only the negative side of the old intellectuals, failing to see their positive side.

Rejecting the narrow-minded approach toward the old intellectuals, the Party educated and revolutionized them to serve the people and display their talents and skill. As a result, the old intellectuals have been tempered and remoulded into red intellectuals amidst the struggle, and are doing their job well.

By resolutely rejecting all erroneous contentions and obstructionist machinations of the dogmatists and flunkeys our Party could successfully push ahead with revolution and construction.

In fulfilling the difficult, complicated tasks in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, we, in the first place, attached importance to our own experience and laid main emphasis on it, although we drew on the experience of foreign countries, too. In such way we have accumulated our own experience in all work and developed it. We have garnered rich experience in revolution and construction.

In this way our Party could avoid committing left and right deviations in lines and errors in principle in the course of revolution and construction.

Reality proves the complete validity of the lines and policies of our Party. We have become able further to develop revolution and construction on the basis of the experience we have accumulated.

We should defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism and map out and implement lines and policies conforming to the actual situation of our country.

Marxism-Leninism will be enriched and developed all the more with the valuable experiences gained by all parties.

5. One Should Have National Pride

The communists are making revolution with the country and nation as a unit. The basic duty of the communists of each country is, first of all, to fulfil the revolution in their own country successfully. They can contribute to the world revolution only when they successfully carry out revolution in their own country.

For successfully carrying out revolution and construction in one's own country, one should educate the people in patriotism. One can fight better for the prosperity of the country and happiness of the people when he loves his country and has national pride.

Without arming the people with socialist patriotism, it is impossible to build socialism and communism. Socialist patriotism is one of the powerful factors propelling social progress under socialism.

Such patriotic spirit is not born of itself. It can be fostered only when one knows better one's own country. One should be well acquainted with the history and fine tradition of one's own country and with the reality of today.

If one is ignorant of the past and present of his country, he cannot have patriotism, national pride or the spirit of independence, nor can he display enthusiasm and devotion in revolution and construction.

One who has no pride in his nation will inevitably fall into national nihilism.

National nihilism is an idelogical survival of the old society negating

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all the fine things of one's own country and blindly glorifying and idolizing others' things.

Those who fall into national nihilism cannot have independency, maintain national sovereignty or carry through revolution. And eventually, they will become obsequious and subservient to others, betraying the honor and interests of their own nation.

National nihilism is impermissible for the communists.

National nihilism is inspired by the imperialists. For aggression and plunder they are intensifying the ideological offensive to paralyze the national consciousness of the people and make them betray their national interests.

How can the communists allow themselves to fall into national nihilism?

There were national nihilists in our country at one time.

They forgot the basic stand that they were Koreans and that, therefore, they should make the Korean revolution.

They did not have even pride as Koreans. Needless to say, these people could not have a clear mind of their own.

The national nihilists did not study the reality of their country and the policy of their party. They tried to find in the party policies of other countries the answers to the questions arising in the revolution of our country.

They went so far as to negate the history and revolutionary tradition of our country altogether and ignore all the priceless legacies of our people and science.

In educating the younger generation, too, they made it impossible to impart to the youth and children the knowledge that would make them understand better our country including the policy of the Party and the history, geography, culture and customs of Korea to serve better the revolution in our country. Rather, they saw to it that more time and efforts were directed to teaching things foreign.

They also opposed developing literature and arts on a national basis, adapting them to the life and sentiments of the Korean people. Discarding our own songs and dances, they urged to follow the western style. Even in painting, they saw to it that more pictures on foreign subject-matters were produced than those depicting our beautiful mountains and rivers and the heroic struggle and life of our people.

In the eyes of the national nihilists, things of our own people were all worthless and childish. They disliked to put up the fine things of our nation, taking it as a shame to do so, while regarding it as something glorious to imitate foreign countries.

National nihilism inflicted no small damage to our revolutionary work. It went the length of ignoring the correctness of the lines and policies of the Party and negating the revolutionary gains attained by our people under the leadership of the Party.

Our Party has long since waged a consistent struggle against national nihilism.

First of all, we made the popular masses study more and learn more about their own things, instead of others' things. We also led them to have pride in the achievements of their people and the success of their country and to strive further to develop them. In this way we hardened their determination to serve the Korean revolution, cherishing the honor of being Koreans, and enhanced their spirit of *Juche*.

Our Party also raised it as an important question to unearth and carry forward the national traditions and the legacies of national culture. Our experience clearly proves that it is important in education in socialist patriotism to correctly take over and develop the legacies of national culture.

The communists never take a negative approach toward the legacies of national culture. It is the working class which is entrusted with the mission of inheriting and developing the most progressive and revolutionary traditions and legacies of the nation.

We should inherit everything patriotic, popular and progressive created by our own people and develop it further on a new basis. It would not do to negate all the heritages of the old society because they are associated in one way or another with the exploiting class. In evaluating the legacies of national culture, the class principle and the principle of historism must not be separated from each other but correctly combined.

Socialist culture does not come out of nothing. It can be created only on the basis of inheriting and developing all the progressive legacies of the culture of mankind.

Lenin said: **"Proletarian culture is not something that has sprung nobody knows whence, it is not an invention of people who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the result of a natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society, bureaucratic society."**

On what capital can we build socialist culture if we negate all the past things? Of course, communists should adopt a critical attitude toward the legacies of national culture. Even the national heritage that we should carry forward cannot be completely free from the historical limitations of the given period. Therefore, we should analyse and examine the national heritage from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist historical materialism, extract everything positive and develop it in conformity with the reality of today when socialism is under construction. Under socialism culture is national in form and socialist in content.

If one fails to hold to such attitude, he may go to the other extreme, falling into the tendency of restorationism. The communists should guard against such tendency, too.

We should be familiar not only with the past of our nation but also with reality. We should not neglect the study of reality studying the past only We can carry out neither revolution nor construction unless we know the reality of the country and understand the line and policy of the party It is for correctly understanding and grasping reality and more successfully carrying out revolutionary work that we study the past.

It is a lofty virtue of the communists to love one's socialist fatherland. This has nothing in common with national chauvinism.

Socialist patriotism is not inconsistent with proletarian internationalism. The two are an inseparable whole.

The communists ardently love their fathrland and, at the same time, respect the sovereignty of other peoples. He who does not know how to sincerely love his country can not be a true internationalist Nor can such persons possess national pride or independency.

We should heighten national pride and the spirit of independency among the Party members and working people by strengthening education in patriotism.

Only by so doing can we establish *Juche* and firmly uphold independency in all our activities.

6. Independent National Economy Is The Material Basis of Independency

The important task confronting the communist and workers' parties after the seizure of power is the building of their countries into prospering developed socialist states. The gains of revolution can be safeguarded and revolution be pushed ahead continuously by successfully carrying out socialist construction.

The communists can by no means neglect economic construction. Should economic construction be unsuccessful in socialist countries, other revolutionary tasks also cannot be fulfilled successfully. The political and economic tasks of revolution are closely interlinked.

The main thing in socialist economic construction is to build and strengthen an independent national economy.

Without economic independence, political independence can not be ensured. If a country is unable to manage national economy on its own or run economy as it wishes, that country is not worthy of the name of a sovereign, independent state.

A nation which is shackled to another country economically can not be politically independent from it. Economic dependence inevitably entails political dependence and economic subjugation is accompanied by political subjugation.

Building of an independent national economy is a particularly urgent problem in countries which had been colonies or semi-colonies in the past. These countries inherited a backward and lopsided economy. If these countries do not build an independent national economy, they can not do away with colonial onesidedness or avoid lopsided development And they will never be able to free themselves from the state of backwardness and become fully independent states.

It goes without saying that the building of an independent national economy in these countries is not an easy job The building of an independent national economy needs a large amount of funds, labour force and time, and it is accompanied by numerous difficulties. At first both ends may not meet, cost of products may be high and their quality low This is inevitable.

But this is a phenomenon which will gradually disappear in due course as cadres are trained, workers become skilled, experience is accumulated and technique develops. One should not be afraid of difficulties.

If the countries which had been colonies or semi-colonies are to develop economy and become able to stand on their own feet, they must go through this stage. If they do no build an independent national economy because of the accompanying difficulties, they will be unable to defend their political independence or safeguard sovereignty.

Our Party has pushed through the line of building an independent national economy from right after liberation. We are holding to this line still today

Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out in 1947: **"For building a democratic, independent country one should lay the foundation of an independent economy of his nation, and if the foundation of an independent economy is to be laid, national economy must be developed speedily. Without the foundation of an independent economy we can neither achieve independence nor build the country, nor live."**

It was a tough job to build an independent national economy under the prevailing conditions of our country.

History handed down a backward economy and culture to us. We were short of national cadres needed for economic construction. We had no experience in economic construction and the technical level was extremely low.

On top of this, the factional elements came out against our Party's line on the building of an independent national economy. They slandered the building of an independent national economy as "nationalism," "closed economy" or as "running counter to international cooperation." Thus, the building of an independent national economy in our country was accompanied by an acute ideological struggle.

But, we marched onward resolutely and unswervingly along the road we chose in order to become an independent, powerful and civilized nation. Surmounting difficulties our Party forged ahead step by step. Thus we have eventually laid a foundation of an independent national economy and completely changed the looks of the country.

Today we are in a position to develop the economy chiefly relying on our own technique, resources, national cadres and the efforts of our own people. Our country which was economically dependent on foreign countries in the past has turned into a self-sufficient country in the main. This signifies a great change in the history of our country.

Lagging behind others in the past, we could not but rely on import for machine equipment, consumer goods and even for food. But today we basically meet the home rquirements with our own industrial and agricultural products.

Of course, the goods we turn out are not abundant and their quality is not yet high. But it is a very good thing to build new factories with home-produced machines and installations and ensure the livelihood of the people with goods made by ourselves. This not only constitutes a wherewithal for powerfully accelerating socialist construction but also greatly elevates the national pride and the spirit of independency of the people.

We are firmly establishing among the people the traits of valuing and using economically home products, though they are rather inferior in quality yet. We should not patronize foreign goods only, making light of home-made goods. We should accustom the people to live independently, displaying the spirit of independency in the economic life as well.

This does not mean that we should not learn advanced technique of foreign countries. Of course, we should learn advanced technique from other countries and introduce what is good. But this is one thing and living independently another

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thing.

Only when we cultivate the traits of living independently, the ideological life of the people, too, will be sound and independency be further promoted.

By building an independent national economy we should let our country join the ranks of the advanced countries as early as possible. In economy, science, technology, culture and in all other domains, we should come up to the advanced world level. By so doing we should have something to be proud of in everything before the world. Only then can we become a full-fledged, civilized nation of the modern society and do away with flunkeyism once and for all.

Only by building an independent national economy can the socialist countries enjoy complete equality and sovereignty in international relations.

Equality minus economic independence is nothing but empty talk. He who cannot stand on his own feet cannot but read other's face and degenerate to the status of begging for alms.

To disavow the building of an independent national economy amounts, in fact, to refusing to recognize the equality and independency of each country. Only by having an independent national economy can we exercise equal rights with other countries, big and small, of the world and act with pride and independence in the international arena.

The building of an independent national economy does not rule out mutual cooperation among the socialist countries. It is neither seclusionism nor close-door-ism barring the entry of others' things at all, locking up the door.

Socialist countries should develop the relations of mutual cooperation and accommodate each other. This is of great importance in accelerating socialist construction in each country.

But, mutual cooperation among the socialist countries should be conducted in such a way as to strengthen the independent development of each country. It is impermissible to infringe upon the independency of another country and hamper the building of its independent national economy under the pretext of cooperation among the fraternal countries.

Should economic cooperation be conducted in disregard of the independency of respective countries, it would inevitably entail unequal relations among countries. It would naturally widen the disparity of the level of economic development. Such a thing should never be allowed in the relations among the socialist countries.

Only the building of an independent economy can bring about the prosperity of the nation and the prosperity and development of the country and guarantee, in practice, the independence and sovereignty of the country.

7. One Should Respect Others' Independency

Today there are quite a number of communist and workers' parties in the world. Among them are big parties and small ones, some old, some young in their history. There are parties of socialist countries and of capitalist countries.

Each party wages its revolutionary struggle independently in different circumstances. This necessitates the establishment of correct mutual relations among the fraternal parties.

The communists should correctly handle these relations especially between big and small parties and between parties of the socialist countries and of capitalist countries. Experience shows that complicated problems are liable to crop up between big and small parties and between parties of socialist countries and of capitalist countries.

The norms governing mutual relations among fraternal parties must be strictly observed, if the relations among communist and workers' parties are to be correctly handled. The mutual relations among the communist and workers' parties are based on the principles of complete equality, sovereignty, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and comradely assistance.

There can be no privileged party among the communist and workers' parties. There are big parties and small parties, but there can be no superior party or inferior party, nor a party that gives guidance and a party that receives guidance. There should be no such relations in which some issue orders and exercise control from a central post, while others obey and worship them from below. They are all equal members of the international communist movement.

Respective parties establish contact and hold consultations on equal footings and ensure the unity of will and action according to agreed principles.

These principles governing mutual relations were confirmed at the Meetings of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, in 1957 and 1960.

It is a sacred internationalist duty of all parties to strictly abide by the norms of mutual relations among fraternal parties. All the parties, big or small, of socialist countries or capitalist countries, must be faithful to this duty.

In the history of the international communist movement, there were times when the communists of various countries were active, rallied under a single International. At that time the communists of various countries had to obey the decisions and instructions of the International under the principle of centralism. This was only as it should be under the historical conditions at the time.

Communist parties had not yet been founded in most countries when the Third International was formed. Then the number of the communists was no more than 400,000, taking the world as a whole. The inaugural meeting of the Third International was attended only by 51 delegates from 30 countries, including delegates of leftist groups of socialist parties, besides communist parties and communist organizations. And the existing parties were not yet solid organizationally and ideologically.

The international communist movement has today grown incomparably in scope and strength over that time.

Socialism has become a world system, overstepping the bounds of one country. Some 90 communist and workers' parties are active in all continents, embracing an aggregate membership of some 50,000,000.

The world communist movement is a mighty, political force of the present age, although it is undergoing a trial. The revolutionary movement of all peoples also has expanded on an unprecedented scale and is developing in complicated and diverse forms.

It is absolutely impossible for a single center to give unified leadership in the world revolutionary movement which is developing on such a big scale as we see today. An international centre guiding all parties does not fit the realistic demand of the international communist movement of today, no matter what form it may assume.

More, it is quite unthinkable for a single party to guide all other fraternal parties. One country or one party cannot serve as the "center of the world revolution" or the "leading party."

The party of each country assumes direct responsibility for guidance in the revolution and construction of that country. And no outsider can take its place.

To recognize a "center of the world revolution" or a "leading party" in the international communist movement spells admitting the privileged position of a certain party. Then, one party will issue orders and give instructions, while others will have to obey it. And the respective communist or workers' party will become unable to guide independently the revolution of its country.

It is impermissible for the fraternal parties to interfere in the policy of another party or bring pressure to bear upon it.

Mutual relations among the communist and workers' parties are a new form of international relations so far unknown in history. Each party should act in the spirit of mutual understanding and respect in the common cause of the victory of socialism and communism, and should maintain genuine comradely relations.

However, the international communist movement in the recent years has been a witness to the fact that the intolerable instances of imposing one's wrong line and views on other fraternal parties, putting pressure upon those who refuse to accept them and interfering in others' internal affairs, have not yet been eliminated.

We must not tolerate such act of big-power chauvinism. Big-power chauvinism brings about the grave consequence of aggravating relations among fraternal parties.

Big-power chauvinism is a survival of the old exploiting society. It is an idea of the rulers of the old society, who held in contempt and oppressed small nations. Should big-power chauvinism be allowed, comradely and equal relations cannot be maintained between the fraternal parties.

The policy and decisions of a party cannot be obligatory to or binding upon other parties. No matter how long a history and what rich experience a party may have, it cannot impose upon other parties its line and policy as the general line of the international communist movement. Decisions of one party are obligatory only within the party. Therefore, no one can force other parties to accept the policy of his party or to follow it. In particular, it is impermissible for a big party or party of a socialist country to impose, abusing its position, its policy and put pressure upon a small party and a party of a capitalist country.

We have fully supported and still support the just stand of the Japan Communist Party which is correctly leading the revolutionary movement of the country and contributing to the cohesion of the international communist movement by opposing interference in its internal affairs by other parties and maintaining its independency consistently and steadfastly.

Each communist of workers' party can and must shape its policy independently.

In the struggle against modern revisionism and dogmatism, too, its methods and forms may differ according to the actual situation of each party. This is quite possible and even inevitable in view of the fact that the parties of various countries are active under different conditions and their concrete tasks also differ.

One cannot force all parties to follow a single pattern in their activities. It is entirely up to each party to decide what formula it should adopt.

It cannot be said that the independent stand of fraternal parties is at variance with Marxism-Leninism simply because it is not in harmony with the stand of a certain party. Independent approach of Marxist-Leninist parties to questions arising in the international communist movement cannot be "opportunism," "neutralism" or "eclecticism."

One should not say that the policy of another party is all wrong or stick any kind of label on it at will because it does not conform to his policy.

Under the condition in which there exist differences within the international communist movement, the question of having ties and contacts between fraternal parties cannot be decided in a uniform way. This question, too, should be handled by each party independently according to its actual conditions.

There is no reason why one should read others' faces and follow their suit. The communists cannot follow others' instructions. A communist should stick to his conviction.

Stalin stressed:

"You will find in the world no communists, who would agree to act under the instruction from without, against their convictions, against their will, and regardless of the demands of the situation. If such communists exist anywhere, they are not worth their salt...The value of the communists lies, among other things, in that they know how to hold fast to their convictions."

The communists should not take a prepossessed or prejudiced view toward the independent activities of fraternal parties. They should not make hasty decision or draw rash conclusion.

The Marxist-Leninist parties should have proper understanding of the independent attitude of other fraternal parties. Each party should always respect, not only by word but by deed, the policy and view of other fraternal parties and take a most discreet attitude toward them.

The possible differences of opinion and method on this or that question among the communist and workers' parties should not be a hindrance to friendship and unity among them.

Such act as insulting fraternal parties and infringing upon their independency will result in only undermining the friendly relations among fraternal and weakening the unity of the international communist movement.

If the unity of the international communist movement is to be truly voluntary and solid, the principle of independence should be firmly established among the fraternal parties.

Independence is the prerequisite and basis of unity. When the sovereign rights are encroached upon, unity is bound to be weakened. We should strive to cement the unity

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of the fraternal parties on the basis of respecting each other's independence. And we should accurately combine independency with unity.

The unity of the international communist movement must be based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement.

Only under this condition can friendship and unity among the communist and workers' parties be effectively strengthened and the might of the international communist movement increased further.

8. Let Us Uphold Independency And Strengthen The Joint Struggle Against Imperialism

Defence of independency by the communist and workers' parties is of great importance in strengthening the common struggle against imperialism, too.

The principle of independency does not mean going in for isolationism. Nor does it exclude international solidarity and joint action in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Defence of independency proceeds from the desire to successfully carry out both the revolution of one's own country and world revolution.

The national and international tasks of the revolution are linked with each other. Therefore, the communists should not only fight for the revolution and construction in their country but also fight actively for the common cause of the world working class. Only then can they bring earlier the victory of their own revolution and the world revolution.

Therefore, the communists should actively keep up the common struggle against imperialism, while upholding their independency.

It is the most urgent task facing the communist and workers' parties today to intensify the joint struggle against the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war.

U.S. imperialism is the biggest international exploiter, the bastion of modern colonialism, the main force of aggression and war, the chieftain of world reaction and the international gendarme.

The developments in the recent years once again clearly demonstrate the correctness of this proposition.

The U.S. imperialists are ceaselessly perpetrating aggression and subversive activities against the socialist countries and national independent countries. They stifle the struggle of the people for national liberation and social progress and harass peace ever where in the world.

Today the U.S. imperialists are brazenly waging the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. They have extended the range of the barbarous bombing of the Vietnam Democratic Republic to the area of Hanoi and Haiphong and are ever more outrageously massacring peaceable inhabitants. They have taken one more step in escalating their war of aggression in Vietnam. In this way the U.S. imperialists are going to swallow up the socialist countries one by one.

The U.S. imperialists' war of aggression against the Vietnamese people is, at the same time, an aggression on the entire socialist camp, challenge to the national liberation movement and a grave menace to peace in Asia and the world.

The U.S. imperialists' war of aggression against the Vietnamese people shows ever more clearly the brigandish nature of imperialism. The nature of imperialism never changes. The nearer imperialism approaches its doom, the more frantically it resorts to the means of aggression and war.

The U.S. imperialists are running wild to attain their ambition of world domination, exploiting the weakening of the unity of the international communist movement. Lack of unity in the international communist movement inevitably exerts certain negative influence on the development of the world situation.

If we allow the U.S. imperialists to perpetrate aggression and war at will, it will bring immeasurably grave consequences. How can the communists look on with folded arms at such situation?

We must turn the spearhead of attack on the U.S. imperialist aggressors and deal them counterblows collectively.

The Vietnam question is the focal point in the anti-imperialist struggle today. The progressive forces and the reactionary forces of the world are in sharp conflict with each other on the Vietnam question.

It will have a great impact upon the revolutionary struggle of the world people whether or not we succeed in curbing the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression on Vietnam. Therefore, the communist and workers' parties must make every possible effort to assist the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism.

We should organize and further intensify the struggle against U.S. imperialism on a worldwide scale. Today when the U.S. imperialists are expanding the war of aggression in Vietnam stage by stage, the struggle of the world people for opposing U.S. imperialism and assisting the Vietnamese people should also be expanded stage by stage.

Needless to say, today the struggle of the people against the U.S. imperialists' aggression on Vietnam is on a high tide in all countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and other parts of the world. Even in the United State the struggle of the democratic forces against the policies of the ruling circles for aggression and war is expanding further.

This is a good thing. But this alone is hardly sufficient.

The anti-imperialist forces should counter U.S. imperialism with a powerful united might. Our strength lies in unity. If all the anti-imperialist forces unite close, they can certainly overpower the war forces and defeat U.S. imperialism.

Therefore, a powerful international anti-imperialist joint action and united front must be realized, centered around the socialist camp, the international communist movement, the working class movement and the national liberation movement.

This will strengthen the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces and increase its might many-fold. This will also further inspire the revolutionary struggle of the world people and deal a heavier blow to the U.S. imperialists. Furthermore, this will pave the way for the genuine unity of the international communist movement.

Today a big obstacle lies in the way of realizing the anti-imperialist joint action and united front. There are serious differences and lack of unity in the international communist movement, the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The existing difficulties will not settle of their own accord. The differences are serious, but we should explore sincerely a way for surmounting them.

The situation urgently demands our anti-imperialist joint action. The materialization of the anti-imperialist joint action is the foremost and pressing revolutionary task confronting the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

Whether to fight against U.S. imperialism or not whether to support the revolutionary struggle of the world people or not—this is the main point of the differences. The approach to this question is the touchstone for appraising the Marxist-Leninist stand of each party.

Of course, there are many other differences but for the sake of the anti-imperialist joint action and united front, common point should be sought, first of all, on this fundamental question, shelving other questions for the time being. Then the international communist movement will have a basis for taking a joint action.

We consider that there exists certain community of views on the question of anti-imperialist struggle.

Today all the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties of various countries oppose the U.S. imperialists' aggression on Vietnam and support the anti-U.S., national salvation struggle of the Vietnamese people. Socialist countries are also rendering a certain amount of material assistance to the Vietnamese people.

This bespeaks that we have an elementary basis for taking a joint action and forming a united front in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists at the present juncture.

It will be tested and clarified through actual struggle whether one's opposition to imperialism is true or sham, whether one's support to the struggle of the Vietnamese people is true or sham. Practice will be the touchstone of sincerity, and it will draw the demarcation line between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism all the clearer.

The communists must unite with all the anti-imperialist forces.

They must expand the anti-imperialist front and isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum by winning more allies even if some people are not consistent in their stand and are vacillating.

As Lenin pointed out, we should lead even those who are **"temporary, vacillating, unstable and unreliable"** to the anti-imperialist struggle by utilizing every possibility. If one means to oppose imperialism, he must enlist that force in the anti-imperialist joint struggle.

We should induce those fighting shy of anti-imperialist struggle to come out in the struggle and those who are passive in the anti-imperialist struggle to take an active part in it. This is in line with the general interest of the world revolution.

Anti-imperialist joint struggle means neither unprincipled compromise nor unconditional unity.

Differences within the international communist movement are of a serious and principled character. They can not be glossed over; they must be overcome through ideological struggle.

Therefore, while taking anti-imperialist joint action, the communists must continue to fight in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, opposing opportunism of all hues.

We call for joint action on condition of firmly defending the principles of Marxism Leninism and one's independent stand. The opportunist elements should be criticized and overcome, and anti-imperialist side be supported and encouraged. The communists should hold fast to the principle of unity and struggle in regard to the anti-imperialist united front policy.

Joint action and united front in the struggle against U.S. imperialism are not in conflict with the struggle against revisionism. On the contrary, this is aimed at fighting more actively and more positively against revisionism. The anti-imperialist common struggle is an important aspect of the struggle against revisionism.

All the communists must do their utmost for realizing international anti-imperialist joint action and united front in order to oppose U.S. imperialism and support the Vietnamese people. This is the way to be faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and to fulfil one's internationalist duty at the present juncture.

Today all the anti-imperialist forces must unite and bind the U.S. imperialists hand and foot and break their claws of aggression wherever they have set foot.

When all the forces, rallied in the anti-imperialist united front, wage a gallant struggle against imperialism, imperialism will certainly fall and world revolution will triumph.

* * *

Our Party has accumulated valuable experience in the struggle for strengthening independency in the past. This is our great wherewithal in pushing ahead with revolution and construction in our country.

We should turn to account and develop further the already gained experience and fulfil our revolutionary duty with credit.

We should carry out socialist construction better in the northern part of our Republic and accomplish the cause of country's unification after driving the U.S. imperialists out of South Korea.

Complicated and difficult questions are awaiting solution in the international communist movement, too. There exist serious and principled differences between the fraternal parties and the unity of the international communist movement has not been achieved.

Facts demand that *Juche* be established firmly. In the future, too, as in the past, our Party will uphold independency and carry through the independent line in its internal and external activities.

The Korean communists will abide by the Declaration and Statement of the meetings of the representatives of Fraternal Parties and will always be faithful to their national and internationalist duties for the fulfilment of world revolution.

Our Party will exert all its efforts to defend the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party will fight to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism, dogmatism and factionalism.

We will also strengthen solidarity with the world people who are waging a revolutionary struggle, and fight, in unity with all the anti-imperialist forces, against U.S. imperialism and for the ultimate victory of world revolution.

Steps for Repat. Pact Extension Demanded

— CHONGRYUN CSC's Statement —

The Central Standing Committee of CHONGRYUN (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) on Aug. 8 issued a statement in connection with the moves of the Japanese authorities to nullify the Agreement on the Repatriation of Korean Nationals in Japan. In the statement, the CHONGRYUN Central Standing Committee strongly demanded the Japanese Government stop utilizing Koreans' repatriation issue as a political bait and immediately take sincere steps for unamended extension of the Agreement on Koreans' repatriation to their fatherland—the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The statement reads in part:

The Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on July 1 sent a cable to its counterpart in Japan, proposing that the Agreement on the Repatriation of Korean Nationals in Japan be extended without amendment for another year.

The Japan Red Cross, however, has not sent back any affirmative reply to this day, though 40 odd days have already passed since the proposal was made.

This is related to the unsound political objective of the Japanese authorities to repeal the Repatriation Agreement.

As is already known, the repatriation of Koreans in Japan to their fatherland was, from the start, a humanitarian issue and was realized thanks to the warm support of broad sections of the Japanese people and peoples of the world.

During seven full years since Dec. 14, 1959 to this date, 86,099 Koreans have been returned on 139 occasions.

Today, a large number of Korean citizens in Japan are continuously expressing their desire to be repatriated to their fatherland, and thousands of Korean citizens have already applied for repatriation. It is natural that, as long as there remains anyone who wants to be returned, the Repatriation Accord should be extended.

Despite this, the Japanese authorities, starting from an unjustifiable political viewpoint, intend to destroy the current Repatriation Accord.

The Pak Jung Hi clique of South Korea have made every conceivable machination to urge the Japanese Government to discontinue the repatriation work.

In response to this, Foreign Vice-Minister Shimoda and other leaders of the Japanese authorities openly expressed their intention to destroy the repatriation work, saying that the present repatriation work cannot be continued for an indefinite period of time.

Such a statement by the Japanese authorities is nothing but a politically motivated infringement upon the lofty and humanitarian work.

We never tolerate the intention of the Japanese Government to destroy the humanitarian repatriation work for political reasons.

Originally, the Korean nationals in Japan are those who were taken to Japan for forced labour before and during World War II, and, after liberation, a huge number of them were made jobless owing to the national discrimination policy of the Japanese Government. Today, their unstable living conditions are worsening more and more.

In the light of the historical fact and international practices, the Japanese Government is under an obligation to ensure all democratic and national rights for Korean nationals in Japan. Far from fulfilling this obligation, the Japanese Government intends to block the road to repatriation of Korean nationals hoping to be returned in search of livelihoods. What an unreasonable and unjustifiable act this is!

Freedom to return to one's homeland is a universal and sacred right which no one can violate. It is one of the internationally-accepted fundamental human rights.

We strongly demand that the Japanese authorities abandon their intention to utilize this humanitarian issue for any political purpose, and immediately take sincere steps for unamended extension of the Agreement.

Extensive Campaigns of Koreans for Guarantee of Repat. Work

The Japanese Government's machinations to undermine Koreans' repatriation work, which is already seven years old, are arousing indignation among Koreans in this country. The Japan Red Cross has not yet replied, for more than 40 days, to the July 1 cable, sent from its DPRK counterpart, requesting an unamended extension for a further period of the existing Agreement on the Repatriation of Korean Nationals in Japan. This delay for an unnecessarily long period can not be explained as otherwise than as being closely related to the pressure of the puppet South Korean regime on the Japanese Government to cancel the Agreement.

The serious prospect for the humanitarian work is giving rise to the daily mounting movements of Koreans to demand guarantee of the continuation of the work. Large-scale meetings have been held across this country, and visits of petitioners' groups have recently become a matter of daily occurrence.

The square in front of the Headquarters of the Japan Red Cross has never been filled with so large a crowd of people as on August 11 when some 2,300 Korean people swarmed there. They were petitioners who had come up to the Japanese capital from across this country to demand the Red Cross authorities of an immediate and affirmative reply to the request made by the DPRK Red Cross Society on July 1. The petitioners, who had grown into a huge stream by the time they arrived at the Red Cross, were on their way to a round of visits to the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Justice and to other authorities concerned. To their urgent demand, however, all the Japanese authorities concerned were extremely indifferent, showing no sincere intention to take their reasonable request into cosideration. At the Foreign Office, representatives of the petitioners were prevented from entering the building by a group of plainclothesmen. The situation was much the same with the Justice Ministry authorities, who also refused to meet the Korean representatives, by insisting that they were not authorized to deal with the repatriation problem. The insincere attitude of the Japanese authorities concerned toward the Korean petitioners, who had travelled all the way to Tokyo and spent all the day in their petition campaigns, without producing any tangible results, made their determination stronger to fight till their demand was met. Meanwhile, many Japanese representatives of political parties, trade unions and social organizations also joined in this petition campaign that day.

On August 10, Li Kye Baik, Chairman of the Central Committee for Koreans' Repatriation Work, and Yoon Sang Chul, Director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Central Standing Committee of CHONGRYUN (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), visited the Japanese Government authorities concerned and demanded an unamended extension of the Repatriation Agreement. Later, the Korean representatives also visited the Japan Red Cross and had a meeting with Shigeo Tanabe, Vice-president, and Takesaburo Takagi, Director of the Social Affairs, of the Red Cross. Referring to the Japan Red Cross' failure to answer to the July 1 cable sent from the DPRK Red Cross Society on extending the term of validity of the Agreement, Chairman Li Kye Baik strongly denounced as wholly unjust the Japanese Government's plot to abrogate the Agreement. He stressed that the humanitarian undertaking should never be allowed to be utilized for any political purpose. He demanded that the Japan Red Cross take all the proper measures to guarantee the continuation of the repatriation work which started seven years ago on the basis of humanitarian considerations.

Representatives of Korean residents in Tokyo, the Santama district, as well as in Chiba and Osaka Prefectures—some 600 in all—called at the Japanese authorities concerned and demanded extension of the Agreement.

On the previous day, similar petition campaigns were conducted when some 200 Korean applicants for repatriation in the Tokyo Metropolis and some 100 representatives of Koreans in Saitama Prefecture, made a round of visits to the Japanese authorities.

KOREANS' REPATRIATION WORK MUST BE CONTINUED! Filling the square in front of the Japan Red Cross Headquarters in Tokyo, this vast number of Koreans, who came up to the Japanese capital from across this country, are demanding unamended extention for another year of the Repatriation Agreement signed between the DPRK and Japan Red Cross Societies in August of 1959 and extended yearly ever since. (August 11)

Representing Korean citizens of Nagoya, Aichi Prefecture, Japan, Korean applicants for repatriation in the city demanding the Japan Red Cross of extension of the Repatriation Agreement for a further period as it is (August 12)

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